

Message Text

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SUBJ: CSCE: MALTESE PROPOSAL FOR MEDITERRANEAN MONITORING
COMMITTEE

1. WE TRANSMIT BELOW TEXT OF NEW MALTESE PROPOSAL FOR A
MEDITERRANEAN MONITORING COMMITTEE. COMMENTS BY SEPTTEL.
BEGIN TEXT

PROPOSAL SUBMITTED BY THE DELEGATION OF MALTA

WORKING PAPER ON QUESTIONS RELATING TO SECURITY IN EUROPE

1. THE DELEGATION OF MALTA HAVE EXAMINED PARAGRAPHS 13
TO 24 OF THE FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HELSINKI
CONSULTATIONS. THE DELEGATION ARE OF THE OPINION THAT
LITTLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN DISCUSSIONS ON
MEASURES FOR CONFIDENCE BUILDING, IN TERMS OF
PARAGRAPH 23 OF THE FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS. IN PARTI-
CULAR THE MEASURES RELATING TO "PRIOR NOTIFICATION"
WILL NOT CONCLUSIVELY STRENGTHEN SECURITY IN THE
MEDITERRANEAN AND EUROPE. THESE ARE THE CONSIDERATIONS
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WHICH LED US TO THIS CONCLUSION:

(A) THE SMALL UNARMED STATES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN AND EUROPE ARE ONLY INTERESTED IN PRIOR NOTIFICATION IN SO FAR AS THIS WOULD LEAD TO THE CREATION OF CONFIDENCE AMONGST THE LARGER PARTICIPATING STATES CAPABLE OF DEFENDING THEMSELVES.

(B) AN ARMED CONFLICT BETWEEN ANY OF THE MAJOR PARTICIPATING STATES WOULD UNFORTUNATELY ENGULF THE SMALLER STATES.

2. "PRIOR NOTIFICATION", EVEN IF EXTENDED TO INCLUDE MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS, WILL NOT CONSTITUTE SECURITY TO THE SMALL UNARMED STATES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN AND EUROPE. RECENT EVENTS IN CYPRUS PROVE THIS CONTENTION. NOTWITHSTANDING ALL THE GUARANTEES FOR SECURITY GIVEN BY MAJOR STATES, AND THE PRESENCE OF A SIZEABLE UNITED NATIONS CONTINGENT, THE USE OF FORCE HAS PALPABLY INFRINGED UPON THE SOVEREIGNTY AND INTEGRITY OF THE TERRITORY. FOR SMALL INDEPENDENT NATIONS, THEREFORE, "PRIOR NOTIFICATION" IS A HOLLOW MEASURE AND OTHER MEASURES FOR CONFIDENCE BUILDING MUST BE SOUGHT.

3. CONFIDENCE BUILDING CAN FOLLOW TWO COURSES: POLITICAL AND MILITARY. THE TWO ARE OBVIOUSLY RELATED AND EUROPE PROVIDES A VERY CLEAR ILLUSTRATION. THE VERY GREAT MAJORITY OF THE EUROPEAN STATES FIND THEIR SECURITY IN AN ACTIVE MILITARY ALLIANCE, EITHER WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA OR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS. THIS SEARCH FOR SECURITY HAS RESULTED IN THE CREATION OF TWO BLOCS, WHICH UNTIL VERY LATELY RELIED ENTIRELY ON THE DETERRENTS PROVIDED BY MASSIVE ARMAMENTS FOR THEIR SECURITY. THE PAST DECADE HAS BROUGHT ABOUT THE REALIZATION THAT THE RIVALRY FOR INFLUENCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE MASSING OF MORE AND MORE ARMAMENTS BY THE TWO BLOCS WAS UNDERMINING THE WHOLE STRUCTURE OF PEACE, AND THE TWO SUPER POWERS - THE RESPECTIVE LEADERS OF THE TWO BLOCS - GENUINELY SEARCHED FOR A DETENTE WHICH CULMINATED IN THIS CONFERENCE. THIS CONFERENCE HAS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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GRUDGINGLY CONCEDED THE FACT THAT EUROPEAN SECURITY IS IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY, BUT HAS NOT YET ACCEPTED THE EQUALLY UNDENIABLE FACT THAT A GENUINE AND LONG-LASTING DETENTE CANNOT BE ACHIEVED BY THE TWO SUPER POWERS WITHOUT THE EMERGENCE OF AN INDEPENDENT EUROPE, FREE TO ASSERT ITS OWN IDENTITY AND TO PROVIDE AN EFFECTIVE BUFFER BETWEEN THE TWO SUPER POWERS.

4. WITHOUT THIS NEW POLITICAL DYNAMISM, THE PRINCIPLES AND DECLARATION ENUNCIATED SO LOUDLY IN HELSINKI AND HERE IN GENEVA WILL GO DOWN INTO HISTORY AS WISH-

FUL THINKING. INDEED IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS TO DISCONTINUE THE VARIOUS ADVENTUROUS INTERVENTIONS UNDERTAKEN IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND EUROPE DURING THESE RECENT HECTIC YEARS. IF THESE INTERVENTIONS HAVE BEEN MADE IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE AND SECURITY - AND EVERYONE HERE SEEMS INCLINED TO GIVEN THEM THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT - THEY HAVE CERTAINLY FAILED TO ACHIEVE THIS PURPOSE. THEY HAVE ALSO FAILED TO PROVIDE TO THE SMALLER INDEPENDENT STATES THE PEACE AND WELFARE FOR WHICH THEY HAVE A RIGHT. THE LONG-TERM VITAL INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS COINCIDE WITH THE SECURITY NEEDS OF THE SMALLER STATES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN AND EUROPE, NAMELY THE CREATION OF A NEW, INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGN BODY WHICH WOULD EARN THE RESPECT, CONFIDENCE AND FREINDSHIP OF BOTH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS. IT IS NOT REALISTIC TO BELIEVE THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY ALONE WILL BE ABLE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE TO BECOME SUFFICIENTLY STRONG TO PLAY THIS NEW POLITICAL ROLE. A EURO-ARAB FEDERATION WHICH WOULD INCLUDE ALSO ALL THE OTHER STATES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, IRAN AND THE GULF STATES, WITH ITS GREATER ECONOMIC POTENTIAL, MIGHT SERVE THIS PURPOSE BETTER. WHILST THE DELEGATION OF MALTA BELIEVE THAT THIS CONFERENCE SHOULD WELCOME THE DIALOGUE WHICH HAS BEEN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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INITIATED BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AND THE MEMBERS OF THE ARAB LEAGUE, THE DELEGATION PROPOSE THAT

(A) THIS DIALOGUE SHOULD BE AMPLIFIED TO INCLUDE ALL THE OTHER MEDITERRANEAN STATES AND IRAN AND ITS PURPOSE DIRECTED TOWARDS THE CONSTRUCTION OF A CONCRETE PLAN IN WHICH ALL CAN COOPERATE.

(B) THIS CONFERENCE WILL SET UP A MONITORING COMMITTEE TO STIMULATE AND ENCOURAGE PROGRESS IN THIS FIELD, SO THAT POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING WILL LEAD TO A CONCERTED POLITICAL ACTION IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND SOUTHERN EUROPE.

(C) THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNION OF
SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS WILL "PARI PASSU" WITH THE
GROWTH OF THIS NEW SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENT BODY GRADUALLY
WITHDRAW THEIR FORCES FROM THE REGION.

END OF TEXT. DALE

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